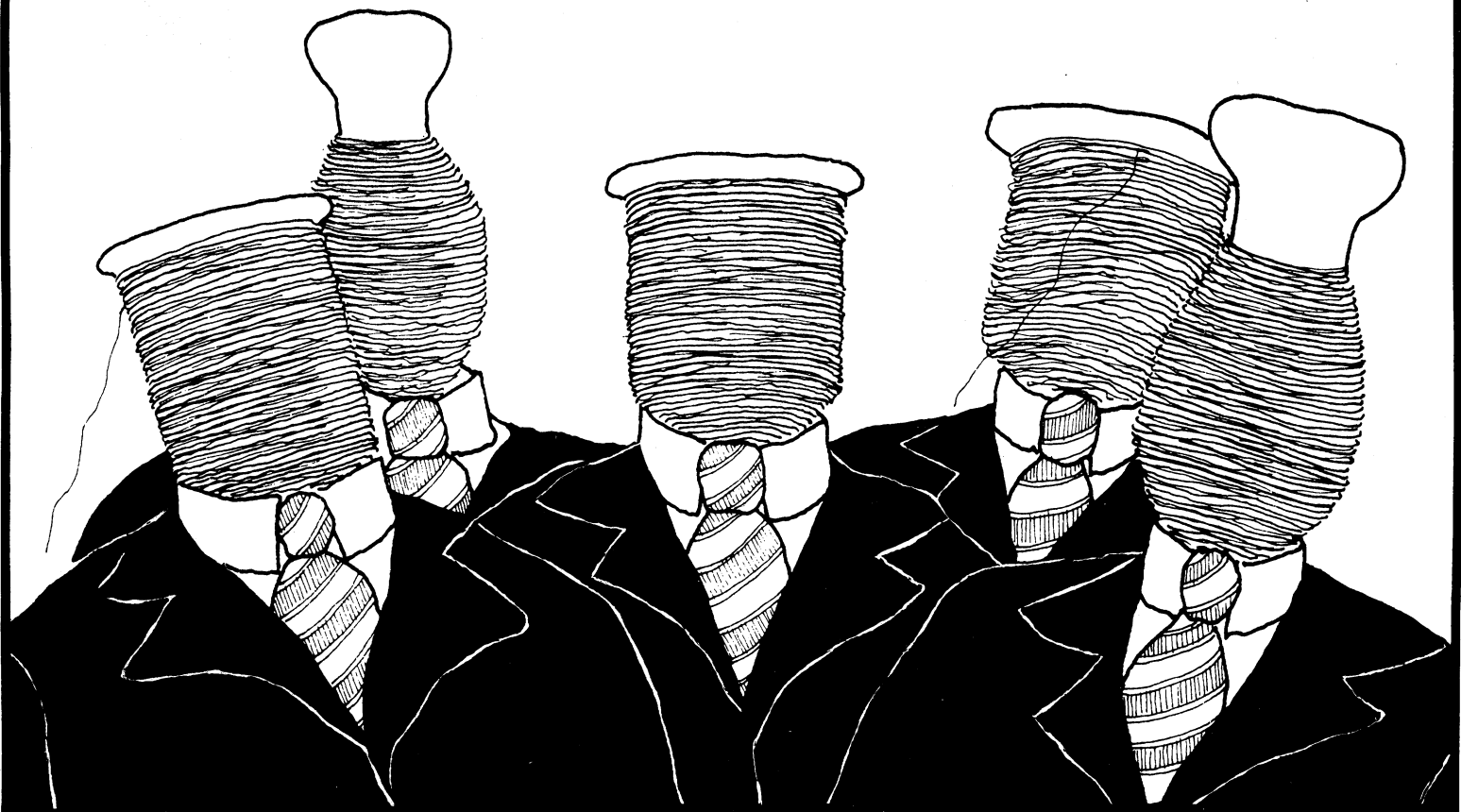


THE STORY OF J. P. STEVENS



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Correction

In last week's story about protests against the U.S.-South Africa Davis Cup matches in Nashville, we falsely identified Judge William Booth as a member of the Michigan Supreme Court. He isn't. Judge Booth is a member of the Supreme Court right here in New York State, as well as being a longtime activist in the struggle against apartheid.

Collective Notes

For those of you who are still finding it a little hard to adjust to the idea of a typeset LNS packet (and believe us, we are), here we go again—set 10 on 11 in 14 pica columns. The idea is that the extra work at this end will pay off in less work at your end. We can see for ourselves that the copy is easier to read. And we hope that at least some of you will find it easier to use. We've been checking the mail to see what you think.

One other thing about the typeset packets: a fringe benefit of typesetting that many of you undoubtedly have already discovered on your own is that it fits more words in less space. In our case, that means that a 10 page typeset packet contains just as many priceless words as one of our 12 page opuses (opera?) in the old style. If you find you cruise through packets quicker than you used to, it must be because the typeset copy is so much easier to read.

Obviously, we've got typesetting on the brain. But we're also excited about some of the material that's going into our packets these days. And we're even more excited about where a lot of it is coming from—a growing list of regular correspondents. In this packet, for example, we have stories from correspondents in Germany, Sahara, the Pine Ridge Reservation, Malaysia and France. Last week we had stories from correspondents who send us stories on a regular basis from the Bay Area, Italy and Spain. Building up a network of people who can send us firsthand material has always been one of our goals—not only because it cuts down our telephone bill but because it makes for fresher, more interesting stories than we can compile from clippings and phone calls. We hope you appreciate the difference, just as we hope that some of you might consider trying your hands at being LNS correspondents yourselves when you run across events or ideas that deserve to be publicized.

[See #902 for more information and #903 for specific contract features. See graphics next week.]

Union Coal Rolls After 110-Day Strike; New Contract Ends Coalfield Health Care Delivery System

by Nancy Stiefel
LIBERATION News Service

NEW YORK (LNS)—The longest strike in soft coal history ended on Monday, March 27 when 160,000 UMW members returned to the mines. "A lot of people voted for a job instead of a contract," said one District president, voicing what seems to be a common feeling among UMW members.

Less than two weeks earlier, the UMW rank and file had resoundingly defeated the latest contract proposal negotiated by the UMW and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). But the unprecedented length of this strike (which cost the miners three and a half months in pay and benefits) and a growing certainty that their leadership reflected little of the rank and file's courage and determination, combined to encourage ratification of the new contract.

"You can't find anybody that will tell you they went back because it was a good contract," commented Tom Bethel, editor of *Coal Patrol* and former UMW Research Director.

Aside from winning an additional pay raise, miners beat down a major BCOA offensive by knocking the "stability" clause from the final contract. If the previous proposal had been ratified, this feature would have given the companies the power to fire miners for leading wildcat strikes over safety and other issues, or for leading picketing. Another success was keeping the hours miners must work each year to qualify for a full year's pension back at the level of the 1974 contract. Both these provisions had been BCOA attempts to crack down on coalfield militance.

The new contract, however, made no more than a tiny step toward correcting the large inequity between the pensions of miners who retired before and after 1976. "The fact that it wasn't done is going to leave a lingering bad taste all over the coal fields, in terms of older miners who now deeply believe that the union doesn't care about them," commented Bethel. "And that has a tremendous generational impact because so many of them are still living with, or close by, their own sons and daughters who are working in the mines now, and can't help but feel the same thing."

UMW Health Card Lost

But by far the bitterest blow to miners is the loss of their prized UMW health card. Unique in the nation's medical-care-for-profit system, the UMW card provided a broad range of medical services completely free to

miners and their families for over 30 years.

In an industry where a strong union had forced non-union coal companies to offer competitive wages and benefits to attract workers, "the biggest single drawing card for being a member of the United Mine Workers was to be a part of this comprehensive coverage," Bethel told LNS. "Now its going to be a system where the companies are going to begin very quickly to emphasize that when you go to work for ABC coal company you're going to get ABC coal company benefits. And they're going to down-play that any of those benefits are UMW benefits."

"The whole idea that these are your own benefits that you produced by your own labor and to which you are entitled by virtue of your own labor is going to take a back seat."

Prevention to Profits

"They're going backwards to a system that uses commercial carriers—the profit motive," said Suzanne Rhodenbaugh, who worked from 1974-1977 for the Health and Retirement Fund—administrator of the UMW health care system. "They [commercial insurance companies] have a high administrative overhead cost with no real control on health care costs."

Rhodenbaugh pointed out that the coal companies seemed to be uninterested in the fact that commercial insurance—with its emphasis on expensive hospitalization and surgery, as opposed to the Fund's emphasis on preventive, outpatient care—would be more costly. This has led many people to believe that the coal companies are "more interested in breaking up what was perceived as a union health program, even though legally it was a union-management program. [The Fund was jointly administered by one union representative, one company representative, and one neutral party. —ed.] It was viewed as the miners' own program, and the operators want to break up that perception....Its just another way to control people," Rhodenbaugh said.

Reaching deep into some of the most remote coalfield areas, clinics operated by the Fund provided a range of services unknown to commercial insurance programs and much broader than the typical doctor's office could provide. Suzanne Rhodenbaugh explained how the Fund operated:

"The change from the Funds to insurance will have a major negative impact on what care is delivered in the coalfields and how it is delivered. First, because the contract has no provision for the prepaid method of financing coalfield clinics which the Fund used for almost 30 years.

"Prior to July, 1977, about fifty such non-profit, consumer-owned clinics were paid by Fund "retainers." These retainers were cost-based amounts negotiated annually between the Fund and the clinics. Agreement was reached on the clinics' annual

cost and the proportion of services being delivered to Fund beneficiaries. And that cost was then met by the Fund.

"With the clinics having salaried [as opposed to the common, fee-for-service] physicians, and no profit margin, they could predict costs. They could concentrate on upgrading the availability and the quality of care; medical resources could be concentrated on health care, counseling, optometry, pharmacy, inhalation therapy [for black lung, a common affliction of coal miners —ed.] in unified programs oriented toward prevention.

"This kind of care appeared expensive, when looked at only in terms of out-patient care. In fact, it allowed for considerable savings in hospital costs, since salaried physicians have no incentive to do unnecessary surgery or hospitalization, and are also able to catch medical problems early, before they become serious enough to require hospitalization."

Fund Provided Ombudsmen

The Fund did not provide merely a bureaucracy to process bills, which is the main preoccupation of commercial insurance carriers. The Fund staff provided a sort of ombudsman service to miners and their families by arranging for care, referrals to specialists, transportation, and more.

"For example," Rhodenbaugh said, if a beneficiary had to go to some super special treatment in Seattle, if it was not available anywhere in the coal fields, plane transportation would be arranged. Often the doctors themselves would call us and say, 'I have a patient who needs a gastrectomy—what doctor in Pittsburgh is the best on that? And we would try to facilitate that.

"There was also the role to see to it that certain benefits were actually delivered, like home health equipment. If somebody needed colostomy supplies they would deliver it to the home, and the family and the patient were taught how to use them."

"There's going to be a real loss," Rhodenbaugh continued. "It won't affect the majority of beneficiaries, because the majority of beneficiaries in any population are healthy, but it will affect the sickest and the most unable to help themselves."

Black List

Another potential problem Rhodenbaugh pointed out was coal operators' access to miners' medical records. "The Fund just did not supply medical information to either the union or the coal companies. But I think that there is a good chance that an insurance company doing business-as-usual would be more amenable to getting operators' information on beneficiaries with black lung disability, for example, who may become a future liability to the company." Under a recent law, if a miner wins black lung

[continued on page 10]

(See photos in this packet. See map in #805.)

Report From the Sahara: Celebrations Mark Anniversary, Guerrilla Victories

by Lawrence Crabb
LIBERATION News Service

LIBERATED TERRITORY, Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (LNS)—Thousands of Saharan people—civilians and guerrilla fighters, men and women in fatigues and traditional robes and children waving flags of the Polisario national liberation front, celebrated the second anniversary of their republic on a sandy wind-swept Saharan plain on February 27-28.

From an elevated platform in the center of the crowd a crippled Saharan woman in her 50's, named Darhalha, recited the folklore of her people—their history and their long struggle against colonialism. The people fought Spanish colonial rule for 90 years, but Spain only pulled out of the Sahara after making an agreement to hand over the nation to its neighbors—Morocco and Mauritania.

When Spain did finally leave and Polisario proclaimed the birth of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic—February 27, 1976—its war against Morocco and Mauritania had already begun.

Despite the presence of 30,000 Moroccan occupation troops and the fact that on western maps, Sahara has been erased and the boundaries of Morocco and Mauritania extended, the second anniversary celebration was held on liberated Saharan territory. Polisario was able to transport to the celebration 60 official delegations and over 300 foreign guests.

Representatives of the liberation movements of the people of Namibia, East Timor, Palestine, and Chile, as well as the Mauritanian National Movement, addressed the crowd with messages of solidarity. Representatives of progressive nations expressed their support for the struggle of the Saharan people for independence and self-determination, and addresses were given by members of the governments of Angola, Benin, Guinea-Bissau, Libya, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, and Viet Nam.

The evenings were filled with traditional Saharan music, dancing and singing. Guerrilla theater skits depicted the fight of the Saharan people, and one popular theme was the growing resistance to the war within the Moroccan and Mauritanian armies.

A military parade of the Polisario Front showed a well-disciplined fighting force, hardened in battle in the desert war, and scores of vehicles liberated from the enemy. Captured trucks bore the markings of European and U.S. manufacture—Mercedes Benz, UNIMOG, General Motors—as well as bullet holes. The amount of materiel seized by the Front has led one

high-ranking Polisario official to remark that the Americans and French are, in effect, helping the Polisario to win the war by supplying Morocco and Mauritania with their arms.

Guerrillas Strike Enemy Centers

The celebration also marked a number of battlefield victories, and climaxed a two-week offensive by the guerrillas. During February 27 and 28 Polisario launched a series of attacks within the Sahara, as well as inside Morocco and Mauritania. Polisario repeated what it has shown on the battlefield for two years—its ability to move through the desert undetected and strike vital military outposts, strategic economic facilities and even the Mauritanian capital of Nouakchatt.

On Feb. 27, Polisario launched a sea and land attack on El Aaiun, the Moroccan-occupied capital of Sahara. To the northeast they ambushed Moroccan troops between Al Aaiun and Hagunia, and attacked Hagunia the next day.

In the south, they defeated Mauritanian forces at Touajille, an outpost on the economically important railway line transporting iron ore to the sea between Zouerate and Choum. Polisario occupied the military post for two hours before withdrawing. The Front reported that 37 Mauritanian soldiers were killed and eight vehicles and railway equipment destroyed. Two cisterns holding seven tons of oil were also destroyed in the raid. Munitions, light weapons, mortars and radios were captured.

On the same day, February 28, Polisario for the first time struck the port of Nouadhibou—Mauritania's second largest, and economically its most important city. Guerrillas reported explosions in the city, the port and at the military facilities. In the same week the Front hit the Zouerate-Nouadhibou railway line in two other places. These attacks, timed to coincide with the anniversary celebrations, demonstrated that Polisario could still disrupt vital economic facilities, regardless of the recent direct French army and air force aid to Morocco and Mauritania.

People's War

The Saharan struggle is a people's war: support among the population for Polisario, officially founded in 1973, is total.

The Moroccan attitude has been to assume that the entire population is suspect—an assumption that appears correct. This assumption has led Morocco to initiate widescale repression.

Seven hundred people living in the south have disappeared since June, according to a Polisario source. Physical abuse is systematic: women have had their noses cut off for refusing to cooperate with occupying authorities. The Moroccans have instituted a policy that children old enough to hold a gun are to have their hands put in a stove and smashed. The Moroccans are

afraid the youth will become the next generation of freedom fighters.

Virtually the entire Saharan population has felt the horror of Moroccan/Mauritanian occupation. Almost all the people I spoke with had lost at least one or two members of their immediate families. Many had lost everything—their entire families, their tents, their goats and camels. One man with whom I spoke extensively, Mohammed Yahya, had formerly lived in El Aaiun. When the Moroccans invaded, he lost everything—all his children were killed; he lost his home, his sheep and all his possessions.

On a visit to two adjacent camps of 45,000 displaced people, I talked with four old men. In response to a remark on the noticeable absence of men between the ages of 12 and 50, they explained that all the young men were fighting with Polisario.

The Moroccans had killed their large herd of camels, one of the old men explained. In fact there were few goats or camels to be seen in the large camp. The Moroccans, in their attempt to control the population, had slaughtered the herds, an act which can only mean starvation for a society based on a nomadic pastoral economy.

Living conditions in the camps were spartan. The tents hardly looked fit to stand up against a desert storm. For the most part they were made of blankets, flour sacks and pieces of cloth sewn together.

Imperial Interests

The conservative governments of Morocco and Mauritania have clear political and economic interests in gaining control over the Sahara—interests which, in Polisario's analysis, are intimately related to the increasingly direct French and U.S. intervention in the conflict.

The Sahara harbors the world's largest reserves of phosphates—the central element for fertilizer and a crucial resource for agricultural development in the third world. Polisario's program explicitly calls for the "nationalization of the Western Sahara's resources" and for the "abolition of human exploitation in all its forms."

Clearly this doesn't suit the interests of the U.S. and its regional policeman in northwest Africa, Morocco's King Hassan II. Polisario deduces that the U.S. hopes to participate in exploiting the phosphate reserves, not only for the tremendous profits involved, but for the leverage over the third world.

Another likely factor in the U.S. thinking could be fear of a socialist Sahara in close proximity to the Canary Islands, the home of an important U.S. air base.

The Moroccan monarchy, which has relied on a repressive police state apparatus and jingoism to keep the people in line, has never been on completely steady ground. A defeat for it in the Sahara could spell the end of Hassan's rule—and the end of a strong U.S. ally in the region.

The U.S. government is currently

debating whether to revise its arms agreement with Morocco and explicitly permit Morocco to use U.S. arms in Sahara. Technically, the present agreement prohibits use of U.S.-supplied arms outside Morocco's borders. But weapons captured by Polisario make it clear that the weapons are finding their way into the Sahara, as well as into Mauritania, where Moroccan troops have been dispatched to bolster Hassan's crumbling ally.

Axis Weakened Within

Mauritania is the weakest link in the axis and it is against Mauritania that Polisario directs its heaviest attacks. Eighty percent of Mauritania's foreign exports derive from the iron ore from the Zouerate mines—the very mines and railway connections under constant attack by Polisario.

With the deteriorating military and economic situation in Mauritania, the president, Mokhtar Ould Daddah, was pressured by the French into signing a defense agreement with Morocco, which permitted Moroccan intervention in the Mauritanian-occupied Sahara, as well as in Mauritania itself. The Moroccan forces number 6,000 by Moroccan accounts and 8,000 according to the Polisario Front.

According to Polisario sources, the Front's strategy, by November, was to ease off on the attacks against Mauritania, giving it a chance to get out of the war. But Ould Daddah's reaction was to request an increased Moroccan presence, and then to ask France for help. This left the Polisario with no other choice but to step up its attacks against Mauritania's military and economic sectors. Now, two-thirds of the Front's forces are concentrated on the Mauritanian front.

On December 23, the French government finally announced what the Polisario Front had been previously claiming—that French pilots had been flying combat missions in support of the Mauritians against the Front.

It has been reported that by November the French has assumed control of the coordination of military operations, communications, logistics and training. Without this support, the Mauritanian war effort would have probably collapsed within weeks.

Meanwhile, morale in the Mauritanian army is quite low, according to Polisario sources. The Front claims that many Mauritanian troops are more eager to surrender than to fight. This claim is substantiated by French tactics and by a disproportionate number of prisoners compared to casualties in raids against Mauritanian units. One raid against the rail line netted 132 Mauritanian prisoners. After this raid the French aimed their counter attack primarily against trucks containing Mauritanian POWs, while the Polisario land rovers were by-passed. France apparently recognizes the problem of waning morale and hopes to frighten Mauritanian soldiers into fighting against Polisario or else face French bombs.

For the Mauritians, both the military and the civilian population, the war seems to be unpopular. Before the Mauritanian occupation, there had been wide-spread popular support for the Saharan people's struggle against Spanish colonialism. Strong historic, ethnic and linguistic ties also link the Saharan people and the Mauritanian population.

It has been estimated that as much as 50 percent of the Mauritanian population supports the Saharan cause. Polisario claims that its guerrillas receive food, sugar and tea, as well as information from the Mauritanian people. The Mauritanian National Movement, an underground organization which claims a base of workers, women and students, supports Polisario.

Support for Polisario also exists within the Mauritanian army. Soldiers have been imprisoned and executed for refusing to fight.

Polisario representatives showed me photos of French paratroopers and advisors taken in Nouakchatt by a Mauritanian soldier and smuggled out. Such photos, given the precautions the French have taken to avoid exposure in the press, could only have been taken by a supporter on the inside.

In Morocco, disenchantment is less wide-spread. But it exists nonetheless. There have been reports of Moroccan soldiers refusing to fight, as well as of executions. Moroccan soldiers are not permitted to have radios, in order to hide the reality of King Hassan's war in the Sahara.

Moroccan and Mauritanian POWs (there are currently 1200) who were interviewed questioned their countries' reasons for intervention in the Sahara. The struggle, said one Polisario representative, "is not only a military one, but it is also a political one, therefore we are giving political education to our prisoners...everywhere we try to make the people understand the aims of our fight."

—30—

(Lawrence Crabb is an LNS correspondent travelling in North Africa.)

(See packets #884 and #898 for background. See graphics.)

Pattern Followed in Light Sentence for Police Who Murdered Mexican- American in Texas

NEW YORK (LNS)—Three former Houston police officers responsible for the brutal death of Jose Campos Torres, a Mexican-American, were handed mild one-year sentences on March 28. The case had been taken into Federal District Court after the state courts let the three policemen off with a misdemeanor. But Federal Judge Ross N. Sterling, an erstwhile law associate and friend of right-wing Texas politician John B. Connally, turned out to be just as lenient.

Mexican-Americans in Texas, in-

cluding the mother of Jose Campos Torres, have been organizing against racism and police brutality and they expressed disgust with the weak sentence. They also pointed out that the sentence is not unusual: cops involved in more than 25 killings of Mexican-Americans by police in Texas within the past five years have received light sentences and often have not even had to serve them out in jail. In some cases, officers were never even indicted.

Jose Campos Torres was arrested by the Houston police last May during a disturbance at a bar. Still in handcuffs, he was taken to a vacant lot where he was severely beaten by five police officers.

When Campos Torres was taken for lockup, the jailer refused to place him in custody in such battered condition and advised that he be taken to the hospital instead. But the police didn't follow his advice. Instead, they took Campos Torres back to the scene of the original beating, beat him some more, and then threw him into the Houston Bayou.

"Let's see if this wetback can swim," one of the officers said, according to trial testimony by another officer who witnessed the killing. Campos Torres' body was found in the bayou three days later, the death listed as homicidal drowning.

—30—

(See packet #877 and #901 for firsthand reports, background information and photos.)

Japan Airport Opening Halted Again by Thousands of Protesters

NEW YORK (LNS)—The latest offensive of the Japanese Opposition League has resulted in a major victory: the opening of the new Tokyo International Airport has been postponed indefinitely. This is the second time in less than six months that the opening date has been set back and the thirteenth time in seven years.

The offensive came during a protest of 6,000 people outside the airport March 26. Expecting a large show of force, the Japanese government took precautionary measures, bringing in 14,000 riot policemen from all over the country—the largest number concentrated in one place in Japan for 18 years. But this was not enough to hold back the militant resistance.

The confrontation began when the police began removing a 55-foot high tower that the Opposition League built to prevent planes from landing. Later that morning, protesters brandishing sledgehammers and pipes and hurling firebombs at the police, stormed the control tower building, smashed windows, tore out wires and scattered technical papers out the windows. The attack rendered the control tower inoperable.

For 12 years the farmers of

[continued on page 10]

(See packet #902 for first hand report on Malaysian women workers in U.S. runaway electronic factories.)

Visit to a Malaysian "New Village;" Predecessors of "Strategic Hamlets"

by Ted Chandler
LIBERATION News Service

(Editor's note: To avoid confusion in names: "Malaya" is the name of the southernmost peninsula of Asia, with the largely Chinese-populated Singapore Island just off its tip. The two received independence from the British in 1957 and 1959. In 1963 Britain, with U.S. backing, created a totally artificial entity, "Malaysia," by adding to Malaya and Singapore the territories of British North Borneo, Sarawak, and Sabah, which are over a thousand miles away by sea, and whose populations share little in the way of language, culture and history with either the Malay or Chinese people of the peninsula. Singapore's ambitious leader Lee Kuan Yew pulled the island out of Malaysia in 1965, establishing an independent republic.)

MALAYSIA (LNS)—The forcible uprooting of a civilian population in Malaysia and its resettlement into "New Villages" during the late '40's served as a model for the U.S. "strategic hamlet" program in Indochina.

In Malaysia, the New Villages are growing old, 30 years old, and nearly two million people—20 percent of the population—live in them. The government, a local Malaysian legacy of the days of British colonialism, uses the New Villages to cordon off ethnic Chinese (30 percent of the total population) from the Malays and to police them more easily.

To Separate the Sea From the Fish

The New Villages were fenced off at the height of the national liberation war against British domination led by the Communist Party of Malaysia (CPM). They represented an effort by the British to separate the "sea" from the "fish"—in the famous Chinese analogy of the relationship between the people and the guerrillas.

"The people gave support to the guerrillas fighting the Japanese," explained one current resident with whom LNS conducted an extensive interview recently. "They supplied information, food and cadres to the guerrillas. So this was to be broken [by the government]."

The British forcibly uprooted 500,000 Chinese residents of Malaya and confined them in new settlements under the strictest security. One of the chief architects of the Malayan repression, Sir Robert Thompson, later became advisor to President Nixon in the early 1970's, at a salary of \$100,000 a year, with the task of helping the U.S. win the war in Indochina.

In addition to cutting the population

off from the guerrillas, the villages also helped the British strategy of divide and conquer by separating the Chinese and Malay populations. This strategic lesson was not lost on the neocolonial government.

"Although the [government] policy is 'national unity' [among Chinese and Malay], these villages," explained the resident, "are essentially concentrations of civilian populations, physically separated from any relations with other races. So chauvinist politics can be used very easily."

"Temporary Occupancy"

The New Villages are "not viable" economically, according to interviews with inhabitants. Although the original government plans indicated that the New Villages would provide land for people, it was only in the 1970's that even some people gained title to the land they farmed. Otherwise, people have "temporary occupancy" which must be renewed each year.

"One family," explained the resident, "had lived near here for the past 50 years and then had been resettled. Originally they worked in the tin mines, but the depression ruined them, so they became 'squatters.' The son still farms the land, which is 'illegal.' They've applied for title to the land but it has never been granted, despite the fact that they worked it since 1925."

Government neglect of the villages since the 1950's has left them without even the most rudimentary services—no sewage systems, electricity, not even water pipes. "In the Third Malaysia Plan," explained the resident, "only \$19 million is allocated for 450 villages—for five years! With 1.5 million people—more than that, actually. The only thing they do is build a road here and there. There are no basic changes, like giving us land."

Police Restrictions

Given their conditions and their history, it is hardly surprising that the New Villages have remained focal points of political organization and government repression.

"Overt political activity is very difficult," explained the resident, "but things are going on." Although security restrictions have loosened somewhat, the Malaysian government still conducts sweeps of the villages, rounding up hundreds at a time. Those seized are accused of various subversive activities and detained for periods ranging up to two years without trial.

"In the past you had to be searched going in and out of the villages," said the resident. "Now you can leave, but you have to register. At the entrance is the police station. All the chaps they pull in are from the New Villages. They move soldiers deliberately into the village, or put them right around it."

Yet the villagers are able to function as a community, explained the resident. "They take care of their village in terms of cleaning it up. On Chinese New Year, people organize for the community. The poor are taken care of

through food distribution. Each has its own committee to take care of grievances. We will all go to this committee before we would go to the police."

In the past, when open political activity was not as severely restricted, programs of this sort were even more highly developed. "There used to be a lot of activities," explained the resident. "The Labour Party ran schools for adults, kindergartens for children, day schools for young women, who had been the most neglected."

But now, "open politics cannot function at all," and underground work in the villages is carried out in conjunction with the CPM.

Underground Activity

The impoverished New Villages have in the 1970's "become the main recruiting ground for the CPM underground," explained the resident. A recent article in *Time* magazine agreed, calling the villages "prime targets for rebel recruiting."

Since 1960 the Malayan national liberation war has continued at a relatively low level, for several reasons. First, although the CPM-led Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army was the only force in Malaya actively to resist the Japanese invasion, it was by no means prepared to confront the full weight of the counter-insurgency effort mounted by the British with U.S. assistance. But once the British began to destroy the trade union movement and the open organizations founded by the party, the CPM found itself forced into armed struggle, prepared or not.

Second, the British carefully exploited Chinese/Malay differences, promising conservative Malay politicians they would rule Malaya while at the same time whipping up anti-Chinese feelings. Third, throughout the 1930's and into the late '40's, the CPM was led by a man named Lai Te, who absconded with the party treasury shortly before Japan revealed that he had been an agent for the French, the Japanese and then the British.

Despite all its difficulties, the resistance has maintained a simmering guerrilla war and an organizational network. And it seems to have had some success in attracting young people who were born and raised in the New Villages.

"An example is the young workers," commented the New Village resident who spoke with LNS. "They have no education, no training, so they mainly end up as construction workers. Some of the CP networks that have been exposed include construction workers."

"They go out and work three months—then come back—then they'll be contacted about new work. So the networks really work. They can be any place and they're contacted about new work."

And there have been indications of other types of political activity as well. "Several years ago, the government

[continued on page 10]

(See graphics.)

Olin Corp. Indicted For Dumping Mercury Into Niagara River

NEW YORK (LNS)—Less than a week after being convicted on federal charges of illegally shipping arms to racist South Africa, the Olin Corporation was indicted on 28 counts by a federal grand jury on charges of concealing the dumping of 38 tons of mercury into the Niagara from 1970-77.

The Olin Corporation, a diversified giant that manufactures chemicals, paper, metals and home-building equipment, and one of the nation's largest arms peddlers, said the amount of mercury dumped into the Niagara did not represent a serious health hazard. Others contend, however, that the large quantity dumped into the river could cause serious nervous disorders and impair the reproductive system of anyone eating fish from the Niagara River and Lake Erie. Young children, pregnant women and people suffering from diseases are especially vulnerable.

In 1970, Olin signed a court-approved agreement with the Justice Department, promising to limit to half a pound per day the discharge of mercury from its Niagara Chemical plant. Later, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) limited the mercury discharge to two-tenths of a pound because of the adverse effects it has had on the cities along the Niagara River.

But according to the indictment, on several occasions mercury discharges of 30 pounds a day or more were reported as 0.1 or less. In one instance, a discharge of 330 pounds was reported as 0.11 pounds.

Three Olin executives were charged on 28 misdemeanor counts for conspiring to defraud the U.S. government and for filing false reports with the EPA. If convicted they will face fines of up to \$10,000 for each count and five years in prison—penalties that will hardly bankrupt a corporation with annual sales of \$1.47 billion.

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Steel Execs' '77 Pay Hikes Bigger than a Worker's Total Wage

NEW YORK (LNS)—Plants shut down, workers laid off, profits on the skids—1977 was a rough year for the steel industry all around. Or at least that's what we were told as the steel companies clamored for help from the federal government while holding thousands of jobs hostage. But year-end figures released recently indicate that not everyone connected with steel fell on hard times. In fact, the average salary for chairmen of six major steel corporations rose about 13 percent last year.

Thirteen percent sounds like a pretty

hefty increase. And when you consider that all of these people were making more than \$250,000 to begin with, 13 percent amounts to more than most steelworkers earn in a couple of years. At Bethlehem Steel, for instance, where 7,300 workers lost their jobs because the company was in such bad shape, board chairman and chief executive officer Lewis F. Foy received a \$44,000 raise, from \$252,000 to \$296,000. Adding in "incentive" compensation, Foy "earned" \$406,982 for the year.

Chairmen at other steel companies didn't fare too badly either. U.S. Steel's Edgar B. Speer raked in a salary of \$372,972, up from a measly \$325,000 the year before. The figures, of course, reflect only the execs' official salaries, easily doubled in many cases by stock options, plane rides and all the office "fringe benefits" of executive employment.

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(See graphics.)

Insurance Corps Find Profit in Cancer

NEW YORK (LNS)—Almost 20 years ago, John B. Amos saved his tiny American Family life insurance company from bankruptcy by a stroke of foresight. He saw that rising medical costs plus the high incidence of cancer among Americans had created a market for a new health insurance, and he set out to fill the need.

"Amos's idea has paid off handsomely," says *Dun's Review*, a business weekly. "Supplemental cancer insurance has become one of the most popular new kinds of medical insurance, and American Family's sales and earnings have sky-rocketed right along with it." Last year, the company "had its best year ever," with a 29 percent rise in profits.

An aggressive mass-marketing sales pitch aimed at corporations and institutions in the U.S. and abroad has helped build American Family's success. The high incidence of cancer in Japan, for example, has proven to be a lucrative market, accounting for one-third of American's profits.

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Deadly Defoliant May Be Sprayed on U.S. Forests

NEW YORK (LNS)—As soon as the weather clears, the notorious Agent Orange, which was used to defoliate jungles in Indochina, may be sprayed by the U.S. Forest Service over forests in the U.S. As part of the U.S. government's scorched earth policy in Vietnam, Agent Orange and other defoliants were used widely to destroy the forest cover of the Indochinese liberation movements. But they are being used at home for another reason—profits.

According to a Forest Service

spokesperson, the spraying is needed "to meet long-range timber production goals." It is said that the chemical defoliant will kill competing vegetation and allow tree seedlings to grow into profitable timber stands.

The proposal to spray vast acreages in several western states could still be derailed in the courts, as opposition mounts. In 1976, for example, residents of Lane County, Oregon successfully fought the U.S. Forest Service and won a ban on use of dangerous herbicides.

Most of the controversy has centered on the herbicide called 2,4,5-T or Agent Orange. Agent Orange and some of the other defoliants contain vestiges of dioxins—known to cause birth defects and cancer. In fact, dioxins are so potent that scientists have been unable to find a dose small enough to be considered safe.

Environmental groups charge that the Forest Service and timber industry officials are putting profits above the safety of the people.

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Carter Trip: Made for TV

NEW YORK (LNS)—When President Carter flashed his famous smile and delivered a speech on U.S.-Latin American relations in Caracas, Venezuela on March 29, some of the Venezuelan legislators in the audience may have been a little groggy and a little peeved from having to drag themselves in extra early for the event. But for viewers of the "Today Show" and other morning news broadcasts back in the United States, the timing was perfect—that is for those who like to have the president beamed live into their kitchens while they're eating breakfast.

The perfect timing was no coincidence. The three major TV networks in the U.S. are shelling out \$500,000 apiece to put competing versions of Jimmy Goes to Foreign Lands on the screen. And they have seen to it that the presidential schedule meshes comfortably with their own. In fact, representatives of the three networks traveled the whole route with administration officials before Carter even left Washington to work out the details of where and when he should appear.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, not all of Carter's hosts were happy with the scheduling. The *Journal* noted that the Caracas speech was "earlier than the Venezuelans preferred" and that they had also wanted to have only Venezuelan television cameras in the cramped chamber where Carter delivered his speech. ABC's White House liaison man for the trip maintains that just proves that the Venezuelans didn't understand what the trip was all about. "I understand it's their squalid little congress," he said. "But it's our President and we have a right to cover him."

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(See) graphics in this packet and in graphics packet #901.)

Long History Behind Fight Against J.P. Stevens' Anti-Unionism

Editor's note: J.P. Stevens & Co. is the second largest textile manufacturer in the United States. Stevens employs 45,000 workers in 85 plants, most located in North and South Carolina.

The mammoth manufacturer is currently the target of an international boycott waged by labor unions, civil rights organizations, women's groups, and activists throughout the U.S. and other countries. The boycott was called in 1976 when it became apparent that after 13 years of union organizing at Stevens plants, workers were no closer to having a union contract than when the drive first started.

And the indictments leveled against Stevens are long: price fixing, tax avoidance, violation of health and safety standards, low wages, wiretapping, discriminatory hiring and promotion practices and more.

The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) itself made history in response to Stevens. In December 1977, while handing down yet another decision against Stevens, an NLRB administrative judge declared that Stevens "had approached these negotiations with all the tractability and openmindedness of Sherman at the outskirts of Atlanta." Sherman burned Atlanta to the ground in 1864 during the Civil War.

The following article was compiled from a study of J.P. Stevens conducted by The Institute for Southern Studies and other articles published in recent issues of Southern Exposure.

NEW YORK (*Southern Exposure/LNS*)—J.P. Stevens & Co. traces its history back 166 years to the War of 1812, when its founder, Nathaniel "Captain Nat" Stevens, inspired by the opportunity for industrial development and growth presented by the British war with America, decided to convert his father's grist mill into a woolen mill. It was one of dozens of mills started by young New Englanders in the early 19th century and the beginning of the formation of the northern working class.

Business boomed during the war. But with return to peace, British woolen goods flooded the market and many woolen mills went out of business. Captain Nat, however, continued to move forward; he boldly switched to flannel production, becoming the first domestic producer of flannel goods. This venture quickly paid off, and by 1832 Stevens had begun to branch out into other areas. He owned stock in a gunpowder factory, banks, insurance companies, mills, railroads, and several water power associations. He also served a term in the Massachusetts legislature.

As the Stevens company grew in the 1850's Captain Nat began involving more of his family in the business—a practice that survives to this day to

make Stevens one of the oldest family-run corporations in America.

Nat Stevens also started another family tradition—expansion. He purchased a second mill in 1855, making him the only flannel manufacturer in the United States owning two mills. The Civil War brought so much business that the mills often ran twenty-four hours a day—and workers, many of them women, sweated through the long shifts. When Captain Nat died, a month before Appomattox, he left behind a personal fortune of \$400,000.

The future looked bright for the heirs of Stevens, especially after Moses Stevens, Captain Nat's son, accidentally discovered an innovative 60/40 blend of wool and cotton.

Move to South

Stevens continued to expand and consolidate throughout the remainder of the century.

At the beginning of the 20th century, J.P. Stevens, Sr. was one of the first to recognize the South as the textile industry's future land base. He crisscrossed the region for twenty years looking for new cotton mills that would sell cloth through the J.P. Stevens commission house in New York and that seemed healthy enough for his own investments. He was aided in this venture by a cousin, who established strong contacts with Southern mill owners. Nat also provided the Southern mills with the capital to expand and in the process garnered new accounts for the commissions house.

By the end of the 1920's, the changes in the textile industry were apparent. The newer, more efficient Southern mills were out-producing the older New England mills. Groups of Southern businessmen, usually aided by a local group of wealthy investors and by a credit arrangement with a commission house, would build a mill in a small village and begin attracting a workforce from surrounding farms. The local government provided tax incentives and cheap power and the towns' isolation, depressed local economies and pro-company government combined to make union organizing impossible.

Workers Revolt

The first wave of revolt by mill workers in 1929 in places like Elizabethton, Tennessee and Marion and Gastonia, North Carolina, broke out largely in reaction to the introduction of northern style "scientific" management techniques known as "speed up" and "stretch out." But the strikes were violently crushed and the system of milltown paternalism, similar to the system of plantation paternalism before it, was forcibly preserved.

By the time World War II erupted the company was in a good position to take advantage of the tremendously increased need for textiles. Robert Stevens was appointed a colonel and served as Deputy Director of Purchases

in charge of federal contracts worth tens of millions of dollars, just as family members had held crucial positions of influence over lucrative government textile contracts in the previous world war. With this help, the company got over \$50 million in contracts during the war. At times more than 90 percent of its products went to the military.

The year 1946 was a critical one for the growing Stevens empire. In a transaction valued at \$50 million, one of the largest mergers in history, M.T. Stevens, J.P. Stevens and Co. and eight Southern textile firms merged under the name of J.P. Stevens.

Throughout the twenty year period following World War II, the Stevens method of expansion (shared by other giants) was two-fold: (1) close down antiquated or unionized shops in the North and bring machinery to the new mills in the South; and (2) buy out existing Southern mills to increase production of a certain line or to enter a new line.

Demand for textile goods was enjoying its longest boom in history, so the object for producers was to control as much productive capacity as possible and to gain as big a share of the market as they could.

Union Organizing

Meanwhile, southern workers began to organize despite Stevens' insistence that "the unions had caused the closing of mills in the North." This insistence was vividly reinforced by the closing of the Hockanum, Mass. mill in 1949, and the layoffs there of 1,300 workers.

In the late 1940's, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) launched "Operation Dixie," and although organizers faced the reactionary force of the Taft-Hartley Act and McCarthyism, important gains were scored.

The Textile Workers Union of America, along with other unions, suffered from several problems during the late 50's. These included internecine warfare and some severe organizing setbacks. In Henderson, North Carolina, the union's regional director was sent to jail on trumped up charges and a bitter strike was totally crushed. In Darlington, South Carolina, Deering-Milliken closed its plant when workers voted for the union. Membership in the South declined from its high of 120,000 in 1948.

Still, gains were made. In one year from 1961-62, union organizers captured a beachhead on the precarious South Carolina front by winning seven of eight NLRB elections. Bakers and butchers, weavers and seamstresses, steel workers and paper workers won drives for union recognition. The campaign was concentrated in Spartanburg and Greenville, but the key plant in town, J.P. Stevens, remained untouched.

The task of organizing the giant textile appeared as inescapable as it did impossible. Every effort was met with highly successful anti-labor tactics, including the ultimate weapon: closing down the plant where workers voted for the union.

To counteract this strategy the

TWUA resurrected the CIO's practice of targeting one leading company to break the industry open for unionism. By organizing at all the company's plants at once, the union hoped that it would be able to wield a far greater negotiating power and prevent the shifting of production to unrepresented shops.

In this way, Stevens became the target of TWUA. And workers at the Stevens plants were ready.

The task, however, has proven to be extremely difficult. While the union was developing this strategy, Stevens was developing its own—expanding its connections within key New York financial circles as it had maintained useful government connections throughout its history. Stevens family members and a Board chairman came to serve as directors of General Electric, New York Telephone, Morgan Guaranty Trust, the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, New York Life Insurance, and Manufacturers Hanover, and sat on the advisory board of Chemical Bank.

Black and White Workers Resist Divide and Conquer

Attempting to crack Stevens is like taking on U.S. Steel and Bull Connors [notorious sheriff at the time of the Selma, Alabama civil rights march] at the same time. Textile executives, like other corporate heads, have consistently manipulated their self-created culture of white supremacy and anti-unionism to pit white and black workers against each other in an attempt to keep workers, especially in the South, from organizing.

A federal industrial report commented on this phenomenon back in 1901 when it spoke of mill owners' use of blacks as a reserve labor force to be used "to keep out much of the agitation of labor. The employer must have something to hold over the union organization."

J.P. Stevens is no exception to this policy, but a repeated practitioner of "divide and conquer" in its own right. During a recent organizing drive in Wallace, N.C. for example, Stevens posted on the company bulletin board pictures of white victims of the so-called San Francisco "Zebra" murders along with photos of black suspects. The caption read: "Would you want this to happen here?"

But Southern blacks today account for 20 percent of the textile work force, weakening the industry's ability to use a reserve army of black labor outside the industry to threaten white textile workers.

And at J.P. Stevens plants throughout the South, workers have shown their determination to fight for a union together and to organize for the boycott, which is drawing on the experience of the civil rights, as well as the labor movement.

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(For background information see packet #901)

Native Americans Defeat Comeback Attempt by Dick Wilson on Pine Ridge Reservation

(The following is based on dispatches from LNS Pine Ridge correspondent Candy Hamilton.)

PINE RIDGE, S.D. (LNS)—The Native American people of Pine Ridge Reservation have once again fought—successfully—against the reinstatement of out-and-out terror by their local government.

Their fight reached a climax when they occupied the village of Wounded Knee in 1973, demanding recognition of their rights as well as the ouster of Richard Wilson, then the Pine Ridge Tribal Chairman. Wilson, who maintained his own private police force known as the "goon squad" had already blocked four impeachment attempts. And it still took three years following the Wounded Knee occupation to oust him from tribal government.

Wilson's reign of terror had exceeded the fairly common corruption of chairmen seeking to use their federally-established position for their own benefit: he armed his collaborators, and targeted the American Indian Movement. Progressive Indians were murdered, arrested, threatened. And massive infusions of U.S. military personnel, police and FBI agents arrived to help out the local government when it came to such incidents as Wounded Knee. Pine Ridge is the second-largest Indian reservation in the U.S..

Wilson was defeated in a 1976 election through continuous organizing on the reservation. But he tried to make another comeback this year. And after he won the primary run-offs in February, "people were really frightened," a Pine Ridge resident told LNS.

But people on the reservation were organizing again. A group of older women—AIM supporters and previous targets of the "goon squad"—put together a folder, "reminding people about all the weapons Wilson had, how many people were shot at, how many people were killed, and what it was like to live in terror all the time." They distributed it throughout the reservation.

The efforts paid off with Wilson's defeat March 21. As one of the woman organizers, Evy Deon kept repeating, "Now we don't have to go back to that awful way of life."

Wilson was defeated by Elijah Whirlwind Horse, who is "more moderate than when the campaigning began, and certainly more moderate than Wilson," as one resident observed. "But we'll have to wait and see what he does."

Russell Means, an Oglala Sioux of Pine Ridge and a national leader of the

American Indian Movement, withdrew from the race for a Tribal Council seat (representatives from each of the reservation's nine districts), making a statement that he could not work with either Wilson or Whirlwind Horse.

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Over 100 Men Snared in Anti-Gay Dragnet in Boston

NEW YORK (LNS)—Over 100 men have come away from the Boston Public Library in recent weeks with horror stories of police entrapment that has landed them at the police station on trumped-up charges of open and gross lewdness, indecent exposure and even prostitution.

An attractive young "plainclothesman in tight-fitting pants, Officer Angelo Toricci, has been assigned to cruise the Library, engaging men in conversation with leads like: "What do you like to do (sexually)?" or "Want to fool around?" and physically encouraging sexual advances in the library men's room. One man reports that he declined the rest room advances only to be pursued with the question, "But you're gay, aren't you?" When he answered, "Yes, but I'm not interested," he says, Toricci arrested him.

Many of the men approached and arrested said that even the "crime" of looking at the young man or talking to him had been enough for the plainclothesman to flash out his badge, arrest them (even with handcuffs and at gunpoint in some cases) and have them booked.

Though police claim the dragnet was set up in response to complaints by library patrons and management, "The police response is totally disproportionate to the problem here," commented John Ward, defense attorney for some of those arrested. The charges also seem disproportionate—"open and gross lewdness," for example, carries a maximum penalty of three years in jail and/or a fine of \$300 and can be used to exclude a person from certain professions.

Ward also pointed out in an aside that the Boston Police Department is rarely so swift to act on women's complaints of sexual harassment by men on the streets. "It's not a response to complaints at all," he said. "It's homophobia, pure and simple."

Meanwhile, the police department has vowed to continue "the plainclothes operation" and the Boston gay community, including some of those arrested, has vowed to fight back—through lawsuits, demonstrations, or other appropriate forms of resistance.

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(Thanks to Gay Community News for this information.)

Russell Tribunal Investigates Political Repression in Germany

Editor's note: For a few weeks following the alleged suicides of imprisoned leaders of the Red Army Faction last fall, controversy about treatment of political dissidents in West Germany found its way into the press here in the United States. But only for a few weeks and only where it touched on treatment in the German prisons. Very little has been said about the broader issue of political repression in West Germany.

Now a special tribunal has convened which hopes to draw world attention to charges that the Bonn government is trying to stifle political dissent through systematic job discrimination, censorship and repressive legislation. The following report from LNS's correspondent in Germany describes the background of the tribunal and the government's attempts to sabotage it.

by Marta Luxenburg
LIBERATION News Service

FRANKFURT, FRG (LNS)—An international jury of more than 25 people from Europe and the United States convened in Frankfurt the week of March 24, despite intense government efforts to block an investigation into "the Situation of Human Rights in the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin."

The jury was assembled by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, which managed to attract worldwide attention with two previous tribunals. The first, held in Sweden during 1966 and 1967, gathered evidence of U.S. war crimes in Viet Nam. The second met in Belgium and Italy in 1973 and 1975 and investigated repression in Latin America.

Preparations for the Third International Russell Tribunal have been underway since the middle of 1976, when people from various political groups met with representatives of the Russell Foundation to talk about the political situation in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). More than a year ago, the Foundation issued the first call for the tribunal. And on October 16, 1977, a provisional secretariat specified three focuses of investigation—the "Berufsverbot" (job banning), censorship and changes of the criminal law.

The announcement was welcomed by many groups and individuals who have been following developments in the FRG since the early 1970's. As *Info: West Germany*, published by the New York Committee for Civil Liberties in West Germany, states, the growing repression in the FRG takes many forms, including "executive decrees, changes in the criminal code, outright violations of the constitution by governmental authorities, as well as an alarming expansion of the intelligence and security apparatuses." Many observers have noted a resemblance between what is now going on in the FRG and the McCarthy era in the U.S.

And even before German experts were dispatched to Italy to coordinate the police dragnet for kidnappers of former premier Aldo Moro, some had pointed to Germany as an ominous trendsetter for other western countries.

Repressive Measures

The best known of the government measures which endanger or eliminate civil liberties in Germany is the *Berufsverbot*, which was issued as part of the so-called "Radicals Decree" in January 1972 under then-chancellor Willi Brandt. (Ironically, Brandt's own son, Peter, was later denied a job because of this decree.) As a result of this act, over 1,300,000 persons applying for civil service jobs have been subjected to "political loyalty examinations." Those suspected of harboring "anti-constitutional" views are barred from employment in civil service jobs—a category which takes in almost 20 percent of all jobs in the FRG. Just recently, a court in Bavaria denied a teacher's job to an applicant because he was not "an active and convinced anti-communist." The applicant had said that he was not prepared to "fight against the German Democratic Republic [East Germany]" and to "promote the cold war."

Another serious threat to freedom in the FRG is the growing censorship. The newly established Paragraph 88a of the criminal code threatens writers, owners of bookstores, printers and publishing companies, by imposing fines or jail terms on "whoever distributes, otherwise makes accessible; or whoever produces, supplies, keeps in storage, offers or advertises...[writings which] advocate violence." Since this paragraph was written into the law, most leftist bookstores and publishing companies, as well as many private apartments, have been raided by the police. Several bookstore owners and printers have been fined and imprisoned.

Changes in the criminal code have progressively eroded rights to legal defense for political prisoners. The latest restriction, passed by the *Bundesrat* (Upper House) on September 30, 1977, states that prisoners may be held in total isolation, even from their lawyers, "if there exists a present danger to life, limb or freedom of a person and when specific facts establish that the danger is due to a terrorist organization." Since this law can practically apply to anyone who is jailed during the time the ruling is in effect, it threatens everyone in the FRG with the possibility of arbitrary arrest and prolonged detention in isolation. As *Info: West Germany* explains, "If it is decided that such an emergency condition exists, one need simply be arrested and accused of a terrorist act and one loses all rights to a legal defense."

Considering all these facts, the grounds for organizing a tribunal to examine the situation are obvious.

But the German government appears to have gone out of its way to prove the need with heavyhanded threats and attempts to prevent the tribunal from

convening. The government coalition of Social Democrats and Free Democrats and the even more conservative opposition Christian Democrats have accused supporters of the tribunal of "hostility against Germans and Germany" and tried to classify them as closet "terrorists."

But that's the least of it. Early this year, a secret document of the *Verfassungsschutz* (agency to protect the constitution) was published in several magazines. In it, the agency discusses the possibility of preventing the tribunal by making it a victim of the very censorship regulations it was called to examine. The paper also mentions other strategies for sabotaging the tribunal including "infiltration of the jury by persons supporting the government" and banning it outright under "laws regulating public meetings, laws on societies and laws on aliens."

Tribunal Convenes

But all the threats haven't kept the Secretariat in charge of preparations from assembling a distinguished international jury that includes three people from the U.S.—Eric Bentley (Brecht translator and historian of the McCarthy era), economist Otto Nathan and jurist Elliot A. Taikeff. Other members of the jury come from France, England, Ireland, Portugal, Yugoslavia, Norway, Austria, Denmark, Italy and the Netherlands. The tribunal is assisted by a German advisory board (members: writer Ingeborg Drewitz, jurist Uwe Wesel, political scientist Wolf Dieter Narr and theologians Helmut Gollwitzer and Martin Niemoller).

During the first part of the tribunal, from March 28 to April 5, only the question of *Berufsverbot* is being examined. About a dozen exemplary cases, selected by the German advisory board and the Secretariat, will be presented to the jury. The victims themselves will be heard as witnesses. Representatives of the government have also been invited to present their point of view, but no one really expects them to testify.

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Viequens Win First Round

NEW YORK (LNS)—Residents of the island of Vieques off the eastern coast of Puerto Rico have successfully pushed through the courts a legal suit demanding that the U.S. Navy stop bombing their island.

The Navy has agreed to postpone its military maneuvers for a year. But Viequens are demanding that the Navy leave the island entirely. Back in 1941, the U.S. Navy seized four-fifths of the island, squeezing thousands of the island's residents onto 7,000 of the total 33,000 acres of land.

Having won the first round in their show-down with the Navy, the Viequens' next step is to demand compensation for the damages inflicted on them by the Navy. On beyond that lies

a further goal that residents of the island have determined to reach—regaining the land that was colonized by the U.S. Navy almost 40 years ago.

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French Elections: Right Retains Power

(The following is based on dispatches from LNS Paris correspondent Schofield Coryell.)

PARIS (LNS)—“What could not be won at the polls will have to be won through struggle.” In these words, one left organization summed up the French legislative elections of March 19, which resulted in defeat for the disunited coalition of the Socialist and Communist Parties.

In a period of high inflation and unemployment, a bare numerical majority of voters kept the present right-wing coalition in power. The trade union rank-and-file and the membership of various left organizations and movements will now find themselves driven to intensify their agitation in the hope of pushing through the reforms the defeated left opposition had promised to enact if it won control of Parliament.

The victory of the rightist parties was considered something of an upset in view of the constant predictions of a Communist-Socialist victory that were registered over the past several weeks by opinion polls. But the results were no landslide for the right. In fact, the left picked up 17 seats in Parliament and the government lost 10 on its way to winning 290 seats in Parliament against 201 for the Communists, Socialists and the Left Radical Party.

Prime Minister Barre, author of the government austerity plan of belt-tightening for the workers, was jubilant, calling the result the expression of “common sense.”

Supporters of the defeated left voiced less certainty as to what the vote expressed. They could cite several obvious reasons for the defeat, starting with the undemocratic nature of an electoral system that translated a scant lead of only one percent of the votes nationwide into an 89 seat majority in Parliament. As the leftist daily *Rouge* pointed out, it took about 69,230 votes to elect a left deputy, while only 52,345 were required to elect a rightwing deputy.

Another prominent factor in the outcome of the elections was intense internecine squabbling over details of the “common program” that had been the basis of the alliance between the Communist and Socialist Parties since 1972. That program called for a series of social and economic reforms, including nationalization of nine key industry groups, an increase in minimum wages, extension of social security and

reinforcement of trade-union rights. But the left unity represented by the common program and the string of electoral victories it recorded in by-elections and municipal elections around the country were shattered in the spring of 1977. The Communist leadership at that time called for an “updating” of the 1972 common program to put teeth into the document and take into account the worsening economic situation. But the Communist and Socialist Parties found they were unable to agree to terms for an “updated” program. And in September, the two parties suddenly broke off negotiations in a climate of hostility and mutual recriminations.

Substantive disagreements between the two parties centered on such issues as nationalization policy (the CP was for more extensive nationalizations than were the Socialists) and the minimum wage (the Communists favored a larger immediate increase than did the Socialists). But to many unaffiliated leftwing voters as well as to many rank-and-filers in the feuding parties, these disputes seemed artificial and highly technical or theoretical.

Meanwhile, leaders of the two parties castigated each other for succumbing to narrow partisan interests. Socialist leaders, like Mitterand and Rocard, blamed the trouble on Communist fears of the increasing size and influence of the Socialists. And many Socialists claim that a decisive section of the Communist leadership would rather lose than take part in a government in which they would have to play second fiddle to the Socialists.

Communist leaders like General Secretary George Marchais, on the other hand, claim that the Socialist leadership veered sharply to the right once it felt that victory was almost in its grasp, abandoning the basic principles of the common program in hopes of winning extra votes through an openly class-collaborationist approach.

Whatever the reasons for the rupture, government propagandists hastened to take advantage of it. They harped on the theme that victory of the disunited left opposition would mean economic chaos, the massive flight of capital, the collapse of the franc, etc. In the weeks just preceding the election, financial heads did in fact organize a dramatic drop in the value of the franc and a sharp decline of French stocks.

Surveying the election results and the government victory, most morning-after commentaries cited the division on the left as a major factor, along with gerrymandering that favors the right and a last-minute outpouring of voters who had abstained in the first round of voting a week earlier. The headline in *Rouge* read simply, “THE PRICE OF DIVISION.”

Others felt the search for explanations had to go much deeper. “Neither the people who abstained, nor the carving up of electoral districts, nor a particular form of social

agitation, nor the weather” could be blamed, stated a commentary in the leftist daily *Liberation*. “But it is a strategy that has been hegemonic on the left since 1972, that of the common program, which has just run aground.” *Liberation* designated the election as a decisive defeat for “a program which didn’t correspond to the realities of France in 1978.” The common program proposed “quantitative not qualitative change,” the commentary explained, “and this is more than a nuance. It is an error in understanding the real country and its aspirations.”

Offering some support to this interpretation were voting results cited in the influential liberal newspaper *Le Monde*. In a post-election analysis, the paper saw a significant rebuke to the common program approach in the relatively large vote given to parties to the left of the Communists and Socialists and remarked that “in several districts it appeared that elements of the working class aligned themselves politically with the extreme left.”

The scale of this opposition vote was not massive. But it adds weight to suggestions that the electoral defeat of the traditional parliamentary left may well be the prelude to an upsurge of intense rank-and-file social movements in the factories and neighborhoods. For as Communist Party leader Marchais commented, “The decisive fact is that there is one thing that is unaffected by the elections—the crisis, low wages, unemployment, the authoritarianism of the Government and employers.”

The voters may not have trusted Marchais’ party and the Socialists to alleviate these problems. But there is certainly little reason to expect that they will be alleviated by the government that helped create them and now remains in power. The election returns will mean more “austerity” at home and growing adventurousness abroad (where France has intervened directly against guerrillas in the Sahara and provided arms to the South African government that openly feared a victory for the left)...unless opposition outside the parliament can mobilize to gain some leverage.

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(See graphics)

A & P Continues Rip-Off Policy in NYC

NEW YORK (LNS)—Although A&P has been fined in the past for false advertising, the New York City Consumer Affairs Department has charged that A&P continues to mislead customers by advertising items at discount prices and selling them for standard ones.

In A&P’s 104 New York City stores, investigators estimate that consumers

Miners [continued from page 1]

benefits and is considered totally disabled, the tab for his benefits has to be picked up by his last coal company employer.

"If information begins to get around about what guy is likely to end up on black lung retirement," Rhodenbaugh stressed, "no company is going to want to be his last employer. A kind of blacklist could develop."

To the extent that some clinics in the coalfields are not wholly dependent on coal miners, they may survive the ending of the Fund. But, those in southern West Virginia, as an example, are already losing doctors because of the uncertainty of future funding. And the projections are that the change-over to commercial insurance carrier will cause much greater difficulty in getting doctors into remote coalfield areas.

"It obviously takes the UMW out of being a force for creative, preventive care planning," Bethel told LNS. Already weakened by severe cutbacks last summer, the Fund had been struggling to survive—"but at least the potential was there as long as there was an independent, UMW health system," Bethel continued. "Now that it is a straight company—Aetna, Prudential, Blue Cross-type of system—with no input on any level from the mineworkers, it is hard to conceive of how any such momentum could be developed in the coalfields again. A progressive union leadership could have used the independent funds as a sort of spearhead for specialized treatment facilities on a grander scale in the coal fields and that has obviously been lost."

Judging from the statements of many West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Ohio miners interviewed by LNS during the strike, the loss of their UMW health card, won through struggle and used with pride, will be felt deeply in the years to come. And the bitterness of that loss will not contribute to the "labor stability" that the BCOA says it hoped to achieve through the 1978 UMW contract.

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Malaysia [continued from page 4]

found a shooting range and food dumps in the jungles. As a result, curfews were imposed on a number of villages. Many have been arrested and former CP's have 'conditions' imposed on them.

"One chap who used to be a Labour Party member has been taken in twice—one time because he was the main writer of *ta tzu pao* big character posters in the village. His posters talk about relatives and friends who have left the village—but where they are he really doesn't know. He refers to the CPM as the *shan dang lao*—the friends in the hills."

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(Ted Chandler is an LNS correspondent travelling in Asia.)

Japan [continued from page 3]

Sanrizuka, Japan have fought the government, demanding that their farmlands not be sacrificed for the new international airport. The farmers have gained the support of a large worker and student movement and their fight has become a symbol of resistance to the current Japanese government. During the 12-year struggle, five people have been killed, 7,000 wounded and more than 3,500 arrested.

As *AMPO, the Japan-Asia Quarterly Review*, points out: "The airport is not only a physical installation. It is also a complex social system which cannot function without the basic support of the people."

As a result, Prime Minister Fukuda (the fourth Prime Minister committed to opening the airport) is in a very uncomfortable position.

"For us, things are looking good," said Opposition League leader Issaku Tomura. "We shall resort to any tactics or any means...Our victory may be the grave of the Fukuda Government."

—30—

A&P [continued from page 9]

have been overcharged tens of thousands of dollars. The investigation began in February when a check of 12 stores showed that all 12 had sold "discount items" at the regular price.

A&P will be fined \$7,850 on the violations charged, a long shot less than what it's managed to pick from customers' pockets.

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Students Across Canada Fight Funding Cuts

OTTAWA (CUP/LNS)—Several years of government negligence to post-secondary education came to a head in March as an estimated 20,000 students across Canada took to the streets during a week of protests against policies that are squeezing them out of an education.

Students demonstrated and occupied boards of governors' meetings and offices while others circulated petitions, challenged the government in the court and planned further action.

In British Columbia, students at Simon Fraser University lost a bid to have a tuition increase blocked by a court injunction, claiming the government had usurped the power of the university to set tuition fees.

The students also demanded that classes be cancelled March 30 so students, faculty and staff could participate in a province-wide demonstration against unemployment. The following day, students planned to hold a mass lobby of provincial legislatures on cutbacks in education funding.

In Alberta, 5,000 students participated in the largest student demonstration in the province's history in Edmonton, and booed down provincial premier Peter Lougheed when he tried to justify cutbacks in university funding and a third year of tuition increases.

In Saskatchewan, students occupied board meetings and confronted premier Alan Blakeney and his education minister, protesting provincial policies which have made their universities the most expensive in Canada.

In Manitoba, whopping tuition increases of up to 27 percent and budget cuts projected for universities have prompted students to plan protests with the support of faculty and staff.

In Ontario, more than 8,000 students showed up at the provincial legislature, again the largest student demonstration in the province's history. Students at six universities had been occupying administrative offices earlier to pressure the universities to cancel classes so that more students could participate in the protest against the government's decision to drop funding to universities by about \$26 million.

In Quebec, students have not had time to respond to reports leaked March 16 that the government there will give the universities \$13 less than they need to maintain services. But opposition is organizing to protest differential fees for international students, announced last month.

In the Atlantic, the Atlantic Federation of Students is considering a mass demonstration to repeat last year's protest of tuition fee increases. —30—

Studies Show Pacific Islanders Still Face Nuclear Radiation Danger

NEW YORK (LNS)—A decade ago, the U.S. government announced that it was safe for Bikini islanders to return to their native Pacific island, 22 years after they had forced to pack up and leave to make room for nuclear weapons tests. There was "virtually no radiation left," Atomic Energy Commission experts declared. And some 500 Bikinians who had been living in Micronesia took their word for it and returned home.

But now the U.S. government has decided it made a mistake. Studies conducted over the last two years show that well water on the island still contains dangerous levels of radiation, as do coconuts, fruits and vegetables grown there. And the word from the experts today is that the island won't be fit for human habitation for another 35 to 50 years.

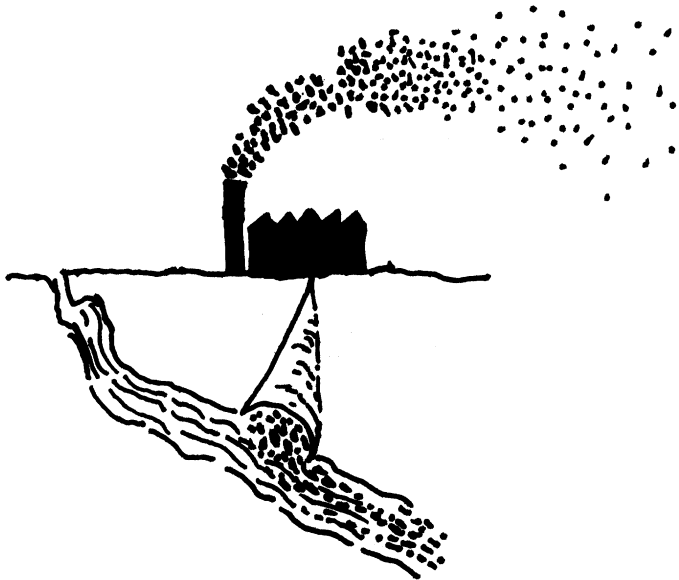
So now its moving time again for the people living on Bikini, according to the government which on March 1, 1954 exploded a 15-megaton hydrogen bomb there and blew a mile-wide hole in the coral reef. Altogether, some 23 nuclear tests were carried out at the Bikini atoll.

The government insists that no damage has been diagnosed among the people who have been living with the radiation of those blasts for the last 10 years. But it also insists that they should eat only imported food. And plans are being made to relocate the Bikinians on another island again. -30-

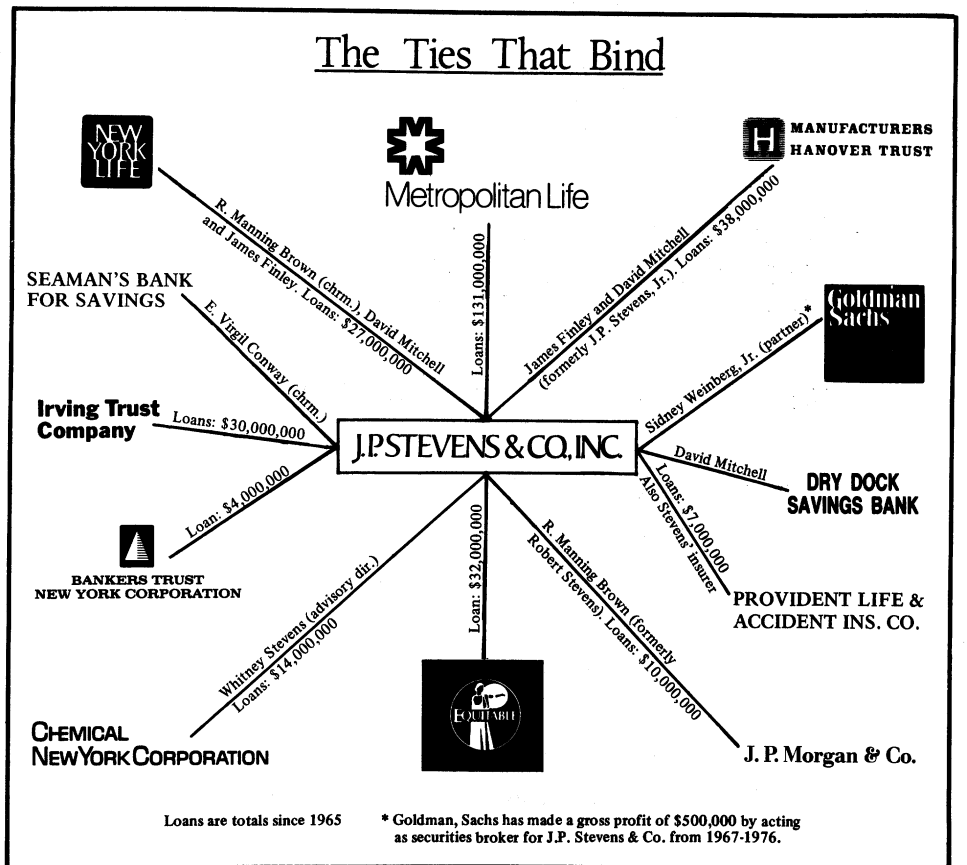


"Come on in—the pollution is at a tolerable level."

THE STORY OF J. P. STEVENS



The Ties That Bind



TOP RIGHT: "The Story of J.P. Stevens"
graphic

CREDIT: Southern Exposure/LNS

SEE STORY PAGE 6, #705

TOP LEFT: Pollution
graphic

CREDIT: ANS/LNS

COULD GO WITH STORY
PAGE 5, #905

MIDDLE RIGHT: "The Ties That Bind"
Graph depicting J.P. Stevens'
corporate connections

CREDIT: Southern Exposure/LNS

SEE STORY PAGE 6, #705

UPPER MIDDLE LEFT:
Pollution graphic

CREDIT: LNS

COULD GO WITH STORY
PAGE 5, #905

LOWER RIGHT:

Food prices
graphic.

COULD GO WITH
STORY PAGE 9,
#905

LOWER MIDDLE LEFT:
Justice graphic

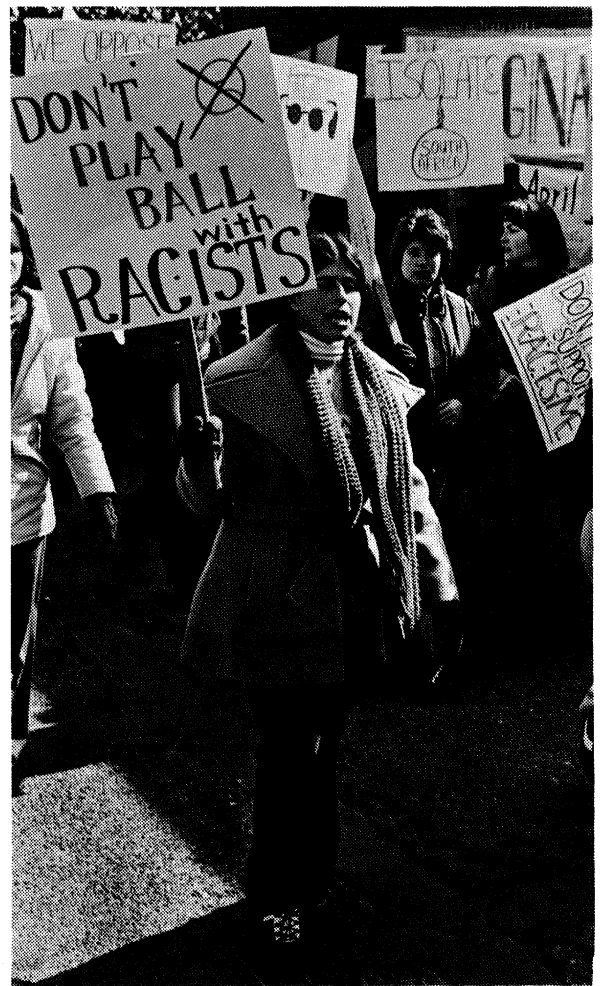
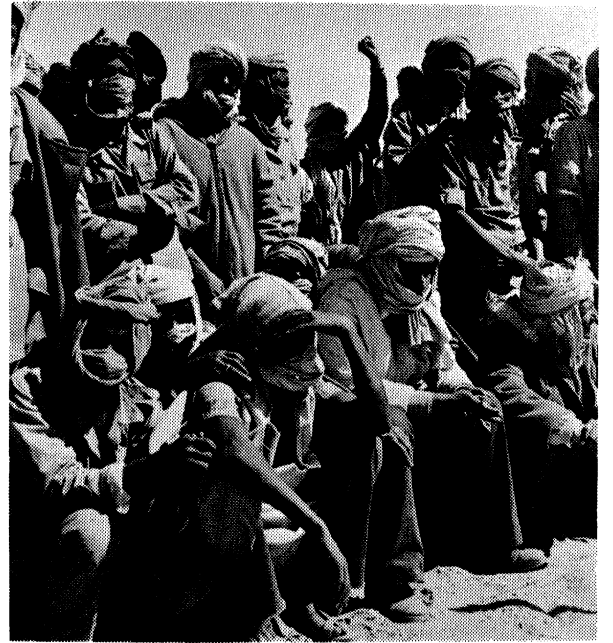
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PAGE 5, #905

CREDIT: LNS

CREDIT: CPF/LNS

LOWER LEFT: Health
graphic.

COULD GO WITH STORY
ON MINERS' HEALTH
BENEFITS, PAGE 1, #905



UPPER RIGHT: Saharan women at festivities celebrating the second anniversary of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, February 27-28, 1978.

CREDIT: Lawrence Crabb/LNS

SEE STORY PAGE 2, THIS PACKET, #905

UPPER LEFT: Militant Saharan women in traditional robes celebrate the second anniversary of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, on recently liberated territory.

Feb. 27-28, 1978

CREDIT: Lawrence Crabb/
LNS

SEE STORY PAGE 2,
THIS PACKET, #905.

SEE STORY PAGE 2, #905
CREDIT: Lawrence Crabb/LNS

MIDDLE RIGHT: Fighters of Polisario, the Saharan people's liberation organization, celebrate the second anniversary of their republic on a sandy wind-swept Saharan plain Feb. 27-28, 1978. Despite the presence of 30,000 Moroccan occupation troops and the fact that on western maps Sahara has been erased and the boundaries of Morocco and Mauritania extended, the second anniversary was held on liberated Saharan territory.

LOWER RIGHT: "Don't Play Ball With Racists." Some of 200-300 students from seven Nashville campuses who marched to the site of the 1978 Davis Cup tennis matches to protest the participation of South Africa's team--- a violation of the worldwide sports boycott of South Africa.

The match was sponsored by Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tenn., which ended up sustaining financial losses along with the U.S. Tennis Association due to a low turn-out at the much-criticized event.

CREDIT: Richard Johnson/LNS

SEE STORY LAST PACKET, #904

LOWER LEFT: Two hundred faculty members from seven Nashville campuses demonstrated their opposition to Apartheid March 15, 1978 as a South African tennis team participated in the U.S. Davis Cup Tennis Matches sponsored by Vanderbilt University in Nashville. Up to 4000 people participated in the main weekend demonstration there, while both Vanderbilt and the U.S. Tennis Association sustained financial losses due to low spectator turn-out at the event.

CREDIT: Richard Johnson/LNS

SEE STORY LAST PACKET, #904